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THE USE OF VENIRE AND ANDARE AS AUXILIARY VERBS IN EARLY FLORENTINE PROSE

PART I THE USE WITH PAST PARTICIPLES

A. VENIRE
WITH AN INTRODUCTION

DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE BOARD OF UNIVERSITY STUDIES OF
THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY IN CONFORMITY
WITH THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

1900

BY
JAMES EUSTACE SHAW

BALTIMORE:
JOHN MURPHY COMPANY
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TEXTS EXAMINED FOR THIS MONOGRAPH.

- Ban. Fior :—Frammenti di un Libro di Banchieri Fiorentini.
Ernesto Monaci, Crestomazia I, 19. Città di Castello,
1889.
- Bone Bene :—Testamento di Bone Beneivanni Fiorentino, del
1273. Monaci, *op. cit.* II, 354.
- Brun. Rett :—Brunetto Latini, Rettorica. Roma, 1546.
- Cic. Inv :—Cicero, De Inventione. Paris, 1537.
- Brun. Rett. Comm :—Brunetto Latini, Rettorica (Commento).
Roma, 1546.
- Vita Nuova :—Dante, Vita Nuova. Witte, Leipsig, 1896.
- Serit. Fior :—Seritta Fiorentina del 1293. Monaci, *op. cit.* II, 425.
- Giamb. Oros :—Bono Giamboni, Delle Storie di Paolo Orosio Con-
tro i Pagani. Tassi, Firenze, 1849.
- Oros :—Pauli Orosii Historia Contra Paganos. Köln, 1574.
- Giamb. Veg :—Bono Giamboni, Arte della Guerra di Vegezio
Flavio. Fontani, Firenze, 1815.
- Veg :—Vegetius Flavius, De Re Militari, 1523.
- Novell :—Il Novellino. Carbone, Firenze, 1889.
- Villani :—Giovanni Villani, Cronaca. Firenze, Giunti, 1545.
(For Book XIII, Muratori, Rer. Italie. Script. XIII.)
- Cron. Fior :—Cronaca Fiorentina Attribuita a Brunetto Latini.
Villari, I Primi Due Secoli della Storia di Firenze, II,
185—269. Firenze, 1894.
- Paolino Pieri :—Paolino Pieri, Cronaca delle Cose d'Italia. Tartini
in Muratori, *op. cit.* II.
- Convito :—Dante, Il Convito. Fraticelli, Firenze, 1861.
- Neri Strin :—Cronaca di Neri degli Strinati. Biscioni, Firenze,
1753.
- Alb. Piag :—Alberto della Piagentina, La Consolazione della
Filosofia di Boezio. Manni, Firenze, 1735.
- Boeth :—Boethius, De Consolatione Philosophiae. Firenze, 1521.
- Pass. (Pen. Sup. Sc. Um. Sogni. Van.) :—Jacopo Passavanti, Lo
Speechio della Vera Penitenza. Polidori, Firenze, 1856.

INTRODUCTION.

I. PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

If there be any value in the following monograph, it will be found to consist chiefly in the account of the signification of the uses to which *venire* and *andare* are put as auxiliary verbs, in early Florentine prose. These uses fall naturally into three chief classes : I, those arising from the construction of *venire* and *andare* with Past Participles ; II, those arising from the construction of these verbs with Present Participles, and III, those arising from the construction with the Preposition *a* and the Infinitive of other verbs. These uses and their meanings have been pointed out and illustrated hitherto only partially, as far as my knowledge goes. For example the use of *venire* and *andare* as auxiliary verbs with Present Participles, and that with the preposition *a* and the Infinitive, are mentioned by Blane;¹ that with Past Participles, as well as the other two by Diez,² and by Meyer-Lübke,³ the discussion being, in each case, though valuable, of the general kind which the character of the works required.

However, the consideration of the state of things regarding the uses referred to has led me also to consider the question of what are the processes by which these various uses have been produced, and to the framing of certain hypotheses. These hypotheses, I wish to say clearly, are beyond the possibility of demonstration, and I therefore make no attempt to prove them. Nevertheless considering that the value of an hypothesis does not depend entirely on the possibility of proving it, I have made bold to present these of mine, and to explain the reasons which have led me to them. These reasons are the result of the nature and meaning which I attribute to the uses discussed, which to lay bare by means of examples is the chief purpose of this monograph.

¹ Grammatik d. Ital. Spr., Halle, 1844, 513–14.

² Grammatik, III, 205–6; 201–2; 238.

³ Grammaire, III, §§ 308, 309, 312, 315, 316, 331.

The hypotheses regarding the syntactical development of the use of *venire* and *andare*, are as follows :

The use of *venire* and *andare* in metaphorical senses, entailed a gradual weakening of the idea of motion originally expressed by the verbs, and this gradual weakening of the idea of motion resulted, by minor processes, as follows :

First :—As regards the use with Past Participles :

venire, from being used independently to express the idea *to come*, came to be used as an auxiliary to express the idea *to happen*; and from being used with the meaning *to happen*, came to be used as an auxiliary for the Passive Mood to express the Latin Passive which we translate by the English *to be* with Past Participles.

andare, from being used independently to express the idea *to go*, came to be used as an auxiliary to express the idea of *duration of time*; and from being used to express *duration of time*, came to be used as an auxiliary to express the idea *to become*.

Secondly :—As regards the use with Present Participles :

Venire, from being used independently to express the idea *to come*, came to be used as an auxiliary to express the idea of *duration of time*; and from being used with the meaning of *duration of time*, came to be used as an auxiliary to express the idea *to begin*.

Andare, from being used independently to express the idea *to go*, came to be used as an auxiliary to express the idea of *duration of time*.

Thirdly :—As regards the use with the Preposition *a* and the Infinitive of other verbs :

Venire (a). From being used in sentences where *a* with the Infinitive expressed *motion toward an object*, *venire* came to be used as an auxiliary to express an idea of *futurity*.

(b). From being used in sentences where *a* with the Infinitive expressed the idea of *purpose*, *venire* came to be used pleonastically as in the English : I asked him to *come and dine* with me.

Andare, from being used in sentences where *a* with the Infinitive expressed the idea of *purpose*, came to be used pleonastically as in the English : Now you've *gone and done* it.

I have said that these hypotheses are incapable of demonstration. That is true because, for practical purposes, we have no Italian literature to examine, which is earlier than the thirteenth century. Consequently we find a considerable number of the uses of the two verbs in question, existing side by side with other uses from which we may suppose them to be derived, in the earliest literature we have. Proof beyond doubt that one use of a verb is derived from another, requires that one be able to point to a time in the literature when the derived use began; as well as to shew the causal connexion between the original and the derived uses. The first kind of evidence is denied us in nearly all cases; an exception apparently being the use of *venire* as an auxiliary expressing the pure Latin Passive, which does not occur in the earliest Florentine prose; and we are obliged to concentrate our attention upon the second kind.

To forestall an objection: it does not seem tenable that any considerable number of the Italian auxiliary uses of *venire* and *andare* have had their development in Latin times, and have been handed down to us ready made from the Latin. For wherever similar uses appear in Latin literature, they are, for the most part, rare, and their meaning is not beyond doubt.

To say that the auxiliary uses were all made ready for us in the pre-literary Italian period, and that it is therefore impossible to follow their development in the literature, is no objection to one's endeavouring to induce conclusions, even from an un-growing state of these uses, concerning that development, but the possibility seems unlikely. A construction may be used with several significations of which some are derived from the others, and the fact that the various significations exist side by side is no evidence that the process of derivation of some from the others is no longer active. When a construction is first used in a derived sense, the process of derivation is only begun, and it is not ended until the derived meaning is generally understood without vagueness. For example: *rimanere* and *restare* are used, especially popularly, with past participles, as auxiliaries for the Passive as, *e rimasto fucilato senza misericordia*; but since in many of these cases there is doubt as to whether *rimanere* and *restare* do not retain some of their independent meaning, the process of derivation of the use as an auxiliary

for the Passive, from the independent use, cannot be said to be as yet complete, and perhaps it may never be completed.

Since such objections as the above do not seem fatal, it does not seem unreasonable to attempt to build a plausible connexion among the various uses of the verbs in question, even without the help of chronological evidence. For since all these uses represent mere modifications of the independent use of *venire* and *andare* with their elementary and material meanings (*venire* meaning motion toward the speaker, and *andare* motion in any direction except toward the speaker), it is reasonable to believe that the uses with the more complex significations are derived from those with the elementary meanings, and that some causal connexion exists among the more complex uses themselves. And if a belief in such a process of development be admitted to be reasonable, it is also natural to expect that the uses with the most complex significations are derived from the less complex. One has, then, at the beginning of the process of development, the words used with their elementary or material meanings, and, at the end of the development, the words used with significations farthest removed from the former (for example, on the one hand *venire* meaning *to come* materially, and, on the other hand *venire* used as an auxiliary expressing the pure Latin Passive): and if one can shew that the significations of the other uses can be placed in order so as to lead the thought gradually from the presumably original meanings to the presumably last derived significations, and if what little one is able to conjecture reasonably from the order of the appearance of the uses in the earliest texts, does not conflict with the arrangement in the order referred to, then one has framed perhaps not a theory, but at any rate an hypothesis, which may or may not be plausible.

However, as has already been said, such hypotheses are of secondary importance: it is the chief purpose of this monograph to give an account of the significations of the chief uses of *venire* and *andare* as auxiliary verbs, in the earliest Florentine prose. No use has been made of texts of poetry, as information derived from such texts may be misleading. I am indebted to Professor Pio Rajna of the Istituto di Studi Superiori of Florence, for advising me to use only texts of prose, and take pleasure in acknowledging here the kind indulgence of Professor Rajna,

kindness to experience which I am by no means the first student from this country. The prose texts I have used are Florentine only. I have attempted to give complete lists of examples of the auxiliary uses in question, but not of the uses of *venire* and *audire* independently or with adjectives, which are mentioned in the Introduction.

I wish to express my gratitude to Professor Kirby F. Smith of the Johns Hopkins University for his kindness in helping me with information regarding analogous auxiliary uses in Latin.

II. THE INDEPENDENT USE OF *Venire* AND *Andare*.

A. *Venire*.

1. In a Material Sense.

In Italian, just as in Latin, beside having the ordinary meaning *to come*, that is, *to move toward the speaker*, *venire* was used to express the idea of *arriving at, reaching*, and this use seems to be as frequent in the modern as in the ancient language. The most satisfactory examples are those where we are able to compare the Italian with a Latin original. In the translation by Bono Giamboni of the history of Orosius, we find *venire* used continually as a translation of the Latin *pervenire*; for example,

Caio Graeo, grande pezza per lui combattendo gli amici, e perdendo, a grande fatiea *venne* al ponte chiamato Sublicio;

Giamb. Oros. v, xi, 298.

Graechus diu pro se amieis pugnantibus ac pereuntibus, aegre ad pontem Sublicium *peruenit*.

Oros. v, xi, 297.

For other examples compare :

Giamb. Oros. vi, xv, 396; vi, xiv, 394; vi, 1, 353-4; iii, xix, 174; and the corresponding passages in the original : Oros. vi, xvi, 407; vi, xv, 405; vi, ii, 361-2; iii, xix, 162.

Naturally enough, we also find *venire* as a translation of the Latin *venire* used to express the same idea of *arriving*; for example,

.... movendo di Ponto n'andò in Parzia, e alla cittade d'Eebatana,
ch' è capo del regno de' Parti, in cinquanta dì venne.

Giamb. Oros. vi, iii, 357.

.... promouens e Ponto in Parthiam, ad Eebatanam urbem caput
Parthiei regni quinquagesimo die *venit*.

Oros. vi, iv, 365.

Compare also Giamb. Oros. vii, xxv, 473; and Oros. vii, xxii, 492.

Further still, *venire* was used with its simplest meaning, *to come*, in numbers of instances where the Latins would use some other verb of motion. This is especially the case in accounts of events, where a story is being told, the purpose being to represent the event more graphically; for where *andare*, or some other verb of motion, would have served the purpose of the narrative, *venire* insists on both narrator and reader being, in imagination at least, actually on the spot where the event is happening; for example,

Nel detto anno del mese di Maggio, e di Giugno, i Turehi armaro
280 tra barche grosse, e legni con più di quarantamila Turchi e
vennero per mare sopra Gostantinopoli,

Villani x, cciv, 653-4.

Again Giamboni, in his translation of Orosius, tells us that after Himileo the Carthaginian had lost his whole army in Sicily by pestilence, he returned home,

.... E con la detta gente *vegnendo* per la città piagnendo e lut-
tando, entrò nel palagio,

Giamb. Oros. iv, vii, 210.

.... ad postremum vociferans per urbem, tandem *ingressus*
domum,

Oros. iv, vi, 200-1.

For other examples compare :

Giamb. Oros. iii, xxii, 178-9; v, xv, 310-11; vii, xlvi, 531;
v, xi, 298; v, iv, 282-3; Oros. iii, xxii, 169; v, xiv, 309; v,
v, 281; v, xii, 297; vii, xlii, 561.

2. In a Metaphorical Sense.

Venire is used metaphorically to express the metaphorical ideas corresponding to the material ideas represented by its material use which has just been illustrated. These metaphorical ideas are :

First, The simple idea of motion toward a state of mind or being.

Secondly, The idea of *arriving at* a state of mind or being.

It seems to be the use of *venire* in the latter sense, that gave rise to the development which, in the end, caused the verb to be used directly with adjectives, in the sense of *to become*.

The process by which this development proceeded seems to consist in the gradual weakening of the idea of motion which attaches to *venire*. To explain this more fully, I will say that there is a connexion, in the process of development, between the idea of (for example), *arriving at a state of pride*, and that of *becoming proud*. The difference between the two ideas lies in the fact that in the latter expression, the idea of motion has become almost lost, whereas in the former it is still felt.

In all Florentine texts, down to the middle of the fourteenth century, examples are to be found shewing all the stages of this development. This does not mean that the use of *venire* with adjectives, to express the idea *become*, was not an accomplished fact long before the middle of the fourteenth century (for it had become so even in Latin), but that the uses of *venire* which represent the intermediate stages in the development, did not die out as soon as they had served the purpose of forwarding the development. In fact they persisted long afterward.

The following examples will illustrate the process of gradual weakening of the idea of motion in the metaphorical use of *venire*.

a. Expressing the idea of motion forcibly.

. In questo anno i principi della Mangna concordevolmente elessero rè della Mangna Adolfo conte di Nasso, ma no *venne* a la benedizione imperiale.

Cron. Fior. 66, 1, 12.

. Così cominciando ad errare la mia fantasia, *venni a quello*, che non sapea dove io fossi ;

Vita Nuova. xxiii, 20.

. E Seneca dice: Imperò malagevolmente *vengamo* alla salute della sanità, perchè non conosciamo essere infermi.

Pass. Sup. vii, 225.

For other examples compare:

Giamb. Oros. vi, iv, 259, and Oros. vi, v, 367; Novell. i, 4; Villani vii, x, 193; Piag. Boez. iii, 64-5, and Boeth. iii, 27 b.

The above examples shew *venire*, used in a metaphorical sense, expressing the idea of motion almost as forcibly as when it is used in a material sense. The following examples will illustrate the use of *venire* still in a metaphorical sense, but with the idea of motion somewhat weakened. However, it must be borne in mind that in all cases where *venire* is used independently, that is where it is not an auxiliary verb, there must be a considerable idea of motion, so that it will need some degree of attention to see that in the cases cited, the idea of motion is indeed somewhat weakened.

b. Expressing the idea of motion less forcibly.

...., Messer Jacopo, e Messer Piero figliuoli di Messer Gianni della Colonna con tutti gli altri Colonesi *vennero alla misericordia*,

Paolino Pieri. 53, 12.

Al costui tempo tornaro li Fiorentini ad oste a Siena, e puosersi a campo a monte Reggione, a stando ivi, li Sanesi *vennero alle commandamenta loro*,

Paolino Pieri. 23, 28-29.

In these two examples, *venire alla misericordia* and *venire alle commandamenta* are two phrases corresponding pretty closely to the English phrase: *come to terms*, and which represent an idea containing little of an idea of motion. To substitute the expression *agree to terms*, for *come to terms*, would not be stretching the meaning very far. In the second example, this lack of the idea of motion is emphasized by the phrase: *e stando ivi*; that is, *while they were there*, the Sanesi came to unconditional terms.

. Ma i Fiorentini ordinaron che i Sanesi mandassero i loro cavalieri alla guardia de' Guelfi di Pisa, onde molto furon

ripresi da' Genonesi, e Lucchesi per lo rompere che fecero di loro promessa, e saramento per iscampare Pisa, ma hebbon da' Pisani il merito, e il guiderone che a ciò *si venia*. . . .

Villani VII, xcvi, 257.

il merito, e il guiderdone che a ciò si venia means: *the credit and reward which was due for this; that is, which would rightfully come.* This reminds one of the American expression: *the money that is coming to me*, that is, *which is due to me*. Evidently the idea of motion expressed by *venire*, is much weakened in this sentence.

For other examples compare:

Brun. Rett. Comm. 82; 54; Giamb. Oros. III, I, 130; III, I, 132; Oros. III, I, 120; III, I, 122; Villani VII, xxvii, 208; VII, xcvi, 257; Pass. Pen. III, IV, 60; Pass. Sup. III, 193.

The above examples shew *venire* used in a metaphorical sense, the idea of motion not being so necessary to the sense as it was originally; that is, here the idea of motion is weaker than it was.

The examples I am now about to give will also shew *venire* used metaphorically, with a somewhat weak idea of motion, but in addition they will illustrate the approach of the idea expressed by *venire* used independently, to the idea conveyed by *venire* when used directly with adjectives in the sense of *to come to be* or *to become*.

Although the idea expressed in these examples does, I believe, approach very close to that expressed by *venire* with adjectives, the syntactical form necessarily could shew no such gradual change. From *venire in tanta grandezza* to *venire tanto grande*, is a great stride, as regards the construction, and it is necessarily so, for there is no imaginable way by which the form could be so altered as to correspond to the gradually developing idea. While the idea expressed by *venire in tanta grandezza*, had, in reality, come to be very similar to that expressed by *venire tanto grande*, (owing to the metaphorical use of *venire*, and to its many uses where it had lost much of its idea of motion) the syntactical form had undergone no change, and remained the same as in those cases where *venire* had undergone no such development in meaning.

By the following examples, I am attempting to shew that *venire* came to have a meaning very similar to that of *to come to be*, while still used quite independently of other parts of speech ; that is, while it preserved the old syntactical construction proper to a verb of motion. Later on I shall discuss the use of *venire* with adjectives, in the sense of *to come to be* and *to become*, that is, the use of *venire* with a similar meaning to that I am about to illustrate, expressed by another construction.

c. Expressing the idea *to come to be*.

. . . ; e *venuto in povertà*, non potendo comparire cogli altri cavalieri, com' era usato, divenne a tanta tristizia e malinconia, che si volea disperare.

Pass. Pen. III, IV, 67-8.

venuto in povertà = *come to be poor*. To translate literally : *come to poverty*, would indicate too strong an idea of motion, since the prevailing thought is the *being poor*, not the *arriving at the state of poverty*, as is shewn by the context.

. . . , e a Tissaferne, rè di quelli di Media, n'andò. Al quale, per lo suo senno e bella favella *in grazia venuto*, diede per consiglio, . . .

Giamb. Oros. II, xv, 108.

The Latin here is : . . . , & ad Tissaphernem in Medium concescit : cui statim adcommodato ingenio & apto eloquii gratia familiar factus, persuadet, ne, etc. . . .

Oros. II, xv, 100.

The Latin original, which uses the adjectival phrase : *familiar factus*, shews how weak the idea of motion is for *venire*, and also how similar the idea of the Italian translation is to that which would be expressed by *venire* with an adjective ; as, *venuto gradevole*.

. Serses, per la battaglia in Grecia mal fatta *venuto in dispregio* de' suoi, fue in Grecia per Artabano ingannato e morto.

Giamb. Oros. II, xi, 96.

The Latin here is: . Xerxes bello in Grecia infeliciter gesto, *contemptibilis suis factus*, per Artabanum praefectum suum in regia cireonuentus occiditur.

Oros. II, xi, 89.

The translation of *contemptibilis factus* by *venuto in dispregio*, shews how close the idea of the Italian is to that which would be expressed by *venire* with an adjective. The idea of motion conveyed by *venire* is evidently almost lost.

. Igli altri per questo pericolo ispaventati, levate le vele, e vogliendo fuggire la ove il vento li menasse, non abbiendo vento a quella stagione, non sappiendo che si fare *vennero in ischernie de' Romani*.

Giamb. Oros. VI, VII, 369.

The Latin is: . Alii hoe perieulo territi, expansis velis qua ventus intenderent fugire conati, cessante mox ventu destituti, *hulibrio fuere Romanis*.

Oros. VI, VIII, 376.

In this example, as in the last one, the idea of motion expressed by *venire* seems relatively insignificant. The meaning of the Italian is: *came to be despised* by the Romans.

The following two examples will illustrate my meaning, in a new way. The first one has been used already for another purpose:¹

....; e venuto in povertà, non potendo comparire eogli altri cavalieri, com' era usato *divenne a tanta tristizia e malinconia*, che si volea disperare.

Pass. Pen. III, IV, 67-8.

Here we have *divenire*, a verb which later came to mean nothing but *to become*, and which always carries this idea in one way or in another, used in the same sense as that in which *venire* is used in the examples just given. The sense of the example would not be altered at all, if we had instead of *divenne*, “*venne a tanta tristizia e malinconia*.”

¹Cf. p. 18.

Another such example is :

Et nota che distrutti sono coloro, che solano essere in alto stato, & in ricchezza, & poi *divengono in tanta miseria* che vanno mendicando.

Brun. Rett. Comm. I, 16.

Here *divengono in tanta miseria*, is exactly the same as : *vengono in tanta miseria*, *venire* having come, in uses such as these, to have the same meaning as *divenire*, that is, *to come to be*, the two were sometimes confused.

For other examples compare :

Cron. Fior. 77, 16 ; 12, 16 ; Giamb. Oros. IV, X, 223 ; I, XXI, 62 ; VII, XLIV, 526 ; IV, XVII, 243 ; and Oros. IV, IX, 213 ; I, XXI, 60 ; VII, XL, 555 ; IV, XVI, 234 ; Villani IV, XIII, 80 ; V, IX, 107 ; VI, LI, 156 ; X, CLXXXIII, 643 ; VI, XCII, 182 ; XI, XXXIX, 709 ; Pass. Sup. VII, 230-1.

III. THE USE WITH ADJECTIVES OF *Venire* AND *Andare*.

A. *Venire*.

I have attempted to shew that the Italian verb *venire* being used in the sense of *to arrive at*, *to reach*, when used metaphorically, and gradually losing the force of the idea of motion which it expressed, came to have the meaning of *to come to be*.

It seems that *venire* could not have been used with adjectives at first except in this sense, for it is impossible to suppose the verb to have been used in close construction with adjectives while retaining its simplest signification of motion toward the speaker. *To come rich*, strictly speaking, has no meaning, unless the verb is understood to be independent of the adjective. Now starting with the use of *venire* as independent of the adjective, for example, *to come, rich*, meaning *to come* and *to be rich* at the same time, it is easy to see that with the new meaning acquired by *venire* in the manner lately illustrated, that of *to come to be*, a close construction of the verb with the adjective is possible. Now this use we find to be common in our texts, and to appear even in Latin.

When, however, this change in meaning had come to pass, and *venire* was used in close construction with adjectives, the idea of motion originally conveyed by the verb, was not entirely done away with. The meaning was *to come to be*. The metaphorical idea of motion was still there. The tendency to become weaker, however, still existed, and, as in the independent uses of *venire*, so in its construction with adjectives, we see the idea of motion gradually becoming fainter and fainter, until in a few cases, it seems to disappear almost altogether; at this stage it apparently means no more than simply *to become* in a sense not far removed from *to be*.

To put this briefly: from the time *venire* begins to be used in the sense of *to arrive at*, *to reach*, and is used metaphorically, there is a gradual weakening of the force of the idea of motion attaching to the verb, and we see the culmination of the tendency, in the last development of the use with adjectives.

We have something of a parallel to the final weakening of the idea of motion expressed by *venire* with adjectives, in the case of the English verb: *to become*. The original meaning of *to become* seems to be *to come to be*. In modern use, however, there is a difference between the meaning of the two expressions, the former having less of an idea of motion than the latter, so that we hear sentences as, *he became imprisoned*, in the sense of *he was imprisoned*.

To illustrate the weakening of the idea of motion, expressed by *venire* with adjectives, I will give a few examples shewing the idea of motion as distinct as it is ever found in this construction, then two or three other examples where this idea seems to be still further weakened, and, lastly, a few where the idea of motion seems to be almost lost:—

a. Expressing the idea of motion clearly.

... ., e per fermo mostrava di dover *venire il migliore uomo* di sua casa.

Paolino Pieri, 60, 22.

Translation: He gave sure promise that he would *come to be* the best man of his house.

. . . . , perochè' Fiorentini *erano venuti molto superbi*, per le vittorie hauute sopra' loro vicini, e tra loro molto *ingrati* a Dio,
 Villani, v, viii, 106.

Translation : , for the Florentines *had come to be very proud*, because of their victories over their neighbors, *and among themselves, ungrateful towards God*,

For other examples compare :

Paolino Pieri 49, 40; Villani vi, i, 124; v, xxii, 112.

The Italian expression : *venire meno*, which originally meant simply *to become less*; that is, *to begin to fail*, has a development parallel to that of *venire* with adjectives. At first, *venire* in *venir meno* conveyed a clear idea of motion; in other cases, presumably later, the idea of motion almost disappeared.

The word *meno* seems to have been affected by its use in this phrase, so that it is used as meaning *lacking, wanting*.¹ The following are a few examples where the idea of motion is still expressed :

. . . . , lo mio signore Amore, la sua mercè, ha posta tutta la mia beatitudine in quello, che non mi puote *venir meno*.

Vita Nuova xviii, 1, 25.

venir meno = *come to be lacking*; that is, *come to fail*.

. . . . ; come interviene a molte persone che o per vergogna o per temenza (. . .) perdonsi e *vengon sì meno*, che smemorano e dimenticano i peccati che in prima aveano pensati di dire,

Pass. Pen. v, 1, 95.

Vengon sì meno = *come to be so lacking* (in strength).

For other examples compare :

Villani xi, i, 674; Giamb. Oros. vi, xviii, 408, and Oros. vi, xix, 437.

b. Expressing the idea *to become*.

. Piero tavoliere fu grande uomo d'avere, e *venne tanto misericordioso*, che prima tutto l'avere dispese a'poveri per Dio. E poi

¹ Cf. Tobler, Verm. Beitr. 1899. iii, 102.—“ital. *venir meno*, aufhören, ausgehn, auch ohnmächtig werden.”

quando tutto ebbe dato, ed ellî si feee vendere, ed il prezzo diede a' poveri tutto.

Novell. XIV, 19.

Here, as is shewn by the context, the whole emphasis of the sentence is laid on the fact of the man's *being* so merciful that he did all the things which follow; there is no emphasis on the *coming to be* merciful. The idea of motion, then, plays here a very ineonspicuous part, and is hardly expressed. The meaning of *venire* seems to be *to become*.

. . . . ; e già cominciauano a *venire possenti* i Frescobaldi, e Bardi, e Mozi, ma di pieciolo cominciamento.

Villani v, xxxix, 121.

It may be urged that in this example the translation ought to be: And already the Frescobaldi, etc., were beginning to *come to be* powerful, etc., but it seems to me that the emphasis is not on the process by which they *became* powerful, but on their *being* powerful; the fact that the beginnings of their power are mentioned, has nothing to do with the idea of motion, which is hardly expressed. I should be inclined to translate: were beginning *to become* powerful.

The following examples of the expression *venir meno* shew a less evident idea of motion than those given above.

. Uno della Marea andò a studiare a Bologna. *Vennerli meno le spese.*

Novell. XLVII, 54.

Vennerli meno le spese = his spending-money *became lacking*. There is no apparent idea here of *coming to be* wanting or to fail.

. . . . , e quasi sbigottito della bella difesa ehe mi era *renuta meno*,

Vita nuova VII, 1, 4.

Translation: and as if dismayed on account of the good defence which had *become lacking* to me,

For other examples compare :

Giamb. Oros. IV, VII, 215; Oros. IV, VI, 204; Villani VI, XCIII, 183; IV, X, 78; IV, X, 78; Pass. Pen. IV, IV, 89; Giamb. Veg. I, 2, 8, and Veg. I, II, 4.

c. Expressing an idea approaching that of *to be*.

. . . . ? certo chi hauea forza, & potere sopra altri molti non haueria patito di *uenire* pari di coloro, cui potea signorigiare, se non l'hauesse mosso sennata & soave parlatura,

Brun. Lat. Rett. 10.

The Latin is: . Profecto, nemo nisi graui ac soavi commotus oratione, cum viribus plurimum posset, ad ius voluisset sine vi descendere, ut inter quos posset excellere, cum iis se pateretur aequari,

Cic. De Inv. I, Op. Rhet. 42B.

Here the translation of *aequari* by *venire pari*, shews little of any idea of motion in *venire*.

. . . . : I malleoli siccome saette sono, ed ove s'appiccano, perochè arzenti vengono, ogni cosa ardono.

Giamb. Veg. IV, 18, 163.

The Latin is: Malleoli velut sagittae sunt, et ubi adhaeserint (*quia ardentes sunt*) universa conflagrant.

Veg. III, XVIII, 128.

Here again, *ardentes sunt* being translated by *arzenti vengono*, seems to shew an absence of the idea of motion.

For other examples compare :

Giamb. Oros. IV, X, 223; and Oros. IV, IX, 213; Villani X, CCXXII, 665.

The following examples of the expression : *venir meno* seem to shew an equal loss of the idea of motion expressed by *venire*:

. . . . , e delli antichi nomati di sopra sono calati, e tali *venuti meno*,

Villani IV, XIII, 80.

This example differs from others such as one from Villani, referred to above, which says: . . . “*venne meno il detto lignaggio.*” The distinction is that here it is not a race of people, which is spoken of as *dying out*, but single individuals who have *died*. Hence there seems to be almost no idea of motion in this example.

. Questa è orazione, per la quale i Fiorentini veglievoli con animata divozione a' progenitori tuoi, egualmente e a te, la tua celsitudine amantissimamente destano, acciò ehe quella desta, tutte le nebbie passino via, e al tutto *vengano meno*.

Villani XII, CVIII, 987.

“Acciò che etc.” =, so that, when that is aroused, all the mists may pass away, and entirely *be gone*.

For other examples, compare:

Villani XII, VIII, 883; XII, XCV, 973; XII, CIV, 982; Pass. Sup. VII, 230.

To sum up briefly: *venire* having, by processes described above, acquired the meaning: *to come to be*, was used with adjectives in this sense. The weakening of the idea of motion expressed by *venire*, however, which had already begun, continued in the use with adjectives, so that at last it seems to be lost, and in some cases *venire* seems to be almost equivalent to *to be*.

THE USE OF VENIRE AND ANDARE AS AUXILIARY VERBS.

PART I. WITH PAST PARTICIPLES.

A. *Venire.*

I have traced the hypothetical process of development by which *venire* came to be used with adjectives, with the meaning *to become*, and almost even *to be*, the idea of motion being almost lost in the latter case. There is room for doubt as to whether the idea of motion is ever actually lost or not, but at any rate, it becomes so weak, in the use with adjectives, as to be all but lost, so that *venire degno*, for example, in some cases seems to mean little more than *to be worthy*. I now come to my proper subject: The use of *venire* with Past Participles.

With past participles, *venire* comes to be used as an auxiliary verb expressing the Passive voice, supplanting eventually, to a great extent, the common auxiliary for the Passive, *essere*. The question I am about to discuss is: by what process of development, *venire* came to be used in this way.

At first sight, it may seem to others, as it once seemed to me, that the use of *venire* with Past Participles, to express the Passive, is an outgrowth of the use of this verb with adjectives, as discussed above. In other words, *venire*, having come to mean *become* (and approaching *to be*) with adjectives, was then used with past participles, with the same meaning. After more thought, however, I have abandoned this idea. My reasons are as follows:

First. The use of *venire* with adjectives, in the sense of *to become*, rather than more frequent with the passing of time, became more and more rare, and has at last been almost entirely supplanted by *divenire* and *diventare*.

Secondly. Although examples of the use of *venire* with Past Participles, with a meaning other than its elementary meaning, *to come*, are rare in early texts, yet examples are to be found in the earliest texts we have, and have become more and more frequent

until at present *venire* rivals *essere* in frequency of use with Past Particiles, as an auxiliary expressing the pure Latin Passive.

Besides this, I may say that there are indications which lead us to believe that the use of *venire* to express the Passive, developed along a line peculiar to itself, although, as I shall try to shew later, the develepmant seems to be identical with that of the use with adjectives, up to a certain point.

When we come to consider the use of *venire* with Past Particiles, expressing the Passive, with the purpose before us of discovering the proceess by which an ordinary verb of motion, such as *venire*, came to be used in so singular a way, it is obvious that the first thing to which we must give our attention is the force which the verb has in this use. There can be no doubt that, in modern Italian, *venire* as a Passive auxiliary verb expresses the Latin Passive. *Venire ucciso* means *to be killed* in the sense of the German *werden getödtet*, of the Latin *occidi*. In the latest texts, however, which my investigation includes, that is, those of the latter half of the fourteenth eentury, *venire*, as an auxiliary expressing the Passive, far more frequently than not, seems to retain more of an idea of motion than is expressed by the Latin Passive. For example,

.... E se alcuna volta gli *venisse predetta* alcuna di quelle (eose casuali), non sarebbe però che n'avesse scienza, ,

Pass. Sc. 300.

venisse predetta seems to mean : *should happen to be foretold*, and has not yet cast off as much of the idea of motion, as has the auxiliary for the pure Passive.

The prima facie conclusion from this fact is that the loss of the idea of motion is in some way connected with the modification of the meaning of *venire*, which modification fitted it to be used to express the Passive. And, indeed, this is a conclusion which is obvious without any knowledge of texts, for it is evident that *venire* in its passage from the meaning *to come*, to the meaning *to be*, even in the sense of the Latin Passive, must have lost the greater part of its idea of motion. Nevertheless, however closely the loss of the idea of motion may be connected with the change of

meaning of the verb, it is plain that without some other cause the transition from *to come* to *to be* would never have taken place. For a gradual loss of the idea of motion, by itself, would only result in the final disappearance of the verb *venire*.

We have, therefore, to discover what may be supposed to be the additional causes which, together with the gradual loss of the idea of motion, brought about the use of *venire* as an auxiliary expressing the Passive, with the meaning *to be*, and, also we have to see in what manner all these forces affected the verb, so as to bring about that result. The only apparent method by which our object may be reached, is that of examining the various uses of *venire*, from the elementary, independent use meaning *to come*, to the use expressing the Passive, which we are treating.

We have already in the preceding pages seen how

First. *venire* was used independently and materially in the sense *to arrive at, to reach*;

Secondly. *venire* was used independently and metaphorically, both in the elementary sense of *to come*, and in the other sense of *to arrive at, to reach*;

Thirdly. In this metaphorical use, *venire* seems to have begun to lose the idea of motion originally attaching to it, so that in expressions such as : *venire in disgrazia*—*to come to be disfavoured*; *venire in grazia*—*to come to be favoured*; *venire in orrore*—*to come to be hated*, etc., the idea of motion is already somewhat weakened, since the most important thought expressed is the state in which the subjects *are* (after their having come into this given condition) and not the process by which they *arrived* at that state.

In the construction with Past Participle, *venire* meant, originally, nothing more than *to come*: *venire ferito* meant merely, *to come* and *to be wounded* at the same time, both verbs keeping their respective independent meaning, and each its full force. When *venire* came to be used in the sense of *to arrive at, to reach*, this did not affect the meaning of that simplest of constructions: *venire ferito* meant then *to arrive* and *to be wounded* at the same time. When, however, *venire* began to be used in a metaphorical sense, then apparently, the meaning of the construction began to change. With the new idea conveyed by the verb, expressions such as *venire ucciso*, became possible, where the idea expressed could not possibly be:

to come and *to be killed* at the same time. Metaphorical expressions too, such as *venire predetto*, *venire fallito*, etc., would necessarily indicate a closer logical relation between the two verbs, as they stood side by side, and a united meaning which was entirely different from any idea formerly expressed by the construction.

Now, considering that *venire* had come to be used metaphorically, and with the meaning, *to arrive at*, *to reach*, an appropriate question is: What should we expect the idea, as conveyed by the old construction of *venire* with the Past Participle, to be, *venire* having been thus transformed in meaning? What is the logical result of a construction such as; for example, *venne fatto*—*came done*?

The two ideas represented are:

First. A certain thing was *done*.

Secondly. It *arrived done*.

When I consider what the force of *to arrive*, is, when used in a metaphorical sense, the only idea which I can think of, is that represented by the French *arriver*, meaning *to happen*. Now putting this meaning for *venire*, and adding the meaning of *fatto*, I should answer the question asked in the preceding paragraph, by saying that, under the given conditions, *venne fatto* would have a meaning very much akin to that of: *happened done*, or (in idiomatic English)—*came to pass*. Now, this is exactly the idea which seems to be conveyed by *venne fatto* in the examples we have, where *venire* has not yet come to be used as a *pure* Passive auxiliary verb. The following examples of *venire* in the earliest stage of the development of its use as an auxiliary expressing the Passive, will illustrate my meaning:

a. *Venire* meaning *to happen*; expressing the Passive; the idea of motion weaker than in the original use.

. Ma non sempre agli uccellatori gl' ingegni *vengono loro jatti*, e agli indovini compositori di bugie quello, che a ventura dicono, *viene loro fatto*.

Giamb. Oros. v, iv, 279.

The Latin here is: Sed non semper aueupatoribus eventum & instructoribus fallaciarum haruspicibus, *opportuni casus suffragant*.

Oros. v, iv, 279.

The Italian is a free translation of the Latin, but the meaning is clear enough: But not always do the tricks of bird-trappers succeed, nor does that which lying sooth-sayers say at hazard (always), *come to pass*. The Latin: *opportuni casus suffragant* emphasizes the meaning of the translation: *viene loro fatto*.

. Il cavallo era nudrito. Il fante non potendolo tenere, sì si drizzò verso il padiglione del Soldano a sua forza. Il Soldano aspettava il rè Ricciardo, ma non li *venne fatto*.

Novell. LXIII, 73-4.

Translation: The horse had been trained. The servant not being able to hold him, he made for the Sultan's tent, with all his might. The Sultan was expecting King Richard (not the servant), but it did not so *come to pass*.

. Come il Rè di Francia ordinò di fare eleggere M. Carlo di Valos Imperadore, e *venneli fallito*.

Villani VIII, cI, 372.

An example which illustrates my meaning very well indeed: *venneli fallito* = *it came failed to him*; that is, *it turned out a failure*.

. E se alcuna volta gli *venisse predetta* aleuna di quelle (eose casuali), non sarebbe però che n'avesse scienzia, . . .

Pass. Sc. 300.

Passavanti is here speaking of the prophetic powers of the devil. He says the devil cannot foretell future events, but that (to translate the above example), if, now and then, he should *happen to foretell* one of those casual events, it would not be because he had actual knowledge of it. The *gli* is in the dative case because *venire* still preserves some of its idea of motion. The literal meaning is: *should come foretold to him*; that is, *it should happen to him to foretell*. The translation which the phrase might have, if it were modern Italian: *should be foretold to him*, would damage the sense, and is impossible.

For other examples cf. :

Giamb. Oros. V, xxiv, 344, and Oros. V, xxiv, 345; Villani X, CXLVI, 621; X, CXXXVIII, 616; IX, XI, 385; I, XXX, 21;

vii, lvii, 228; vi, lx, 160; ix, l, 401-2; ix, cccv, 507; ix, ix, 384; x, cix, 598; xii, xliv, 924; xii, lxxii, 955; Pass. Pen. v, iv, 141.

In the above examples, then, *venire* used with past participles, seems to have come to have the meaning of the French *arriver*, that is, *to happen, to come to pass*.

I wish to emphasize the appearance, which I have already tried to illustrate, that this meaning is the natural result of the use of *venire* (which was already used metaphorically, and in the sense of *to arrive*) with Past Participles.

Now, if we compare this idea of *to happen, to come to pass*, with the idea which *venire* expresses in modern Italian, when used as an auxiliary for the Passive; that is, the idea *to be* in the sense of the Latin Passive, it is plain that the only difference between the two consists in the idea of motion which is found in the former, and which is nearly absent in the latter. This being the case, if *venire* with Past Participles, and meaning *to happen, to come to pass*, were to lose its idea of motion, it would naturally come to mean *to be*, and would express the pure Passive. That the tendency toward losing the idea of motion, already illustrated, was not arrested at the point at which we have arrived, appears from further examples.

It is evident that there is much less of an idea of motion in *to happen*, than there is in *to come*. This being the case, the weakening of the idea of motion in *venire* with Past Participles, would be merely a continuation of the same process which seems to have begun as soon as *venire* was used in a metaphorical sense; that is, as far back as we have any knowledge of the verb, even in Latin.

Also, it is worth remembering that, in the case of the use of *venire* with adjectives, with the meaning *become*, the same process seems to have continued until the idea of motion is almost lost, and *venire degno* came to mean almost simply: *to be worthy*. The weakening of the idea of motion, then, in the case of the use with Past Participles, seems to be merely a parallel development to that in the case of the use with adjectives.

Every fact, therefore, which I have elicited in examination of the uses of *venire*, tends to confirm me in my belief that I am right

in thus tracing the development which ended in the use of *venire* to express the pure Passive.

I will now give a few examples of *venire* used with Past Participles, in which there seems to be less of an idea of motion expressed, than in those just given above.

b. Approaching the meaning *to be*; expressing the Passive; the idea of motion still weaker.

. Ben dieo ch' aleuna volta il mandante non serive la salutazione, o per celare le persone se la lettera *venisse data* altrui, o per aleuna cagione,

Brun. Rett. Comm. 76.

Here *venisse data* may be translated by: *should happen to be given*, in which case this example would fall among those given above. But it may also be just as well translated by *should be given*. It is impossible to tell which of the two translations is the more correct, and this example shews very well how easy it was for *venire*, in this use, to lose its idea of motion, and to pass from the meaning *to happen* to the meaning *to be*. From the fact that *venire* can here be translated as a pure Passive auxiliary, I suppose that the idea of motion is somewhat weaker than in the examples given above, or, at any rate, that the idea of motion is wavering. It will be remembered that in the examples of *venire = to happen*, it is impossible to translate the verb as a pure Passive auxiliary, without evidently injuring the sense of the sentence.

. . . . : Ora maggiormente ci dee *venir fatto*, dappoi che vaca lo 'mperio, e massimamente per la promessa, e saramento fatto per Papa Chimento, quando il fece far Papa.

Villani VIII, cI, 273.

The translation may be: Now it is all the more probable that it *will be done to us*, since, etc., etc. (that is, it is all the more probable that our candidate will be made emperor). Nevertheless, it is impossible to tell whether *venire* expresses any idea of *happening*, or not. It is probable that, in these two examples just given, and in those to follow, the author had no clear idea of what the exact

force of *venire* was ; that is, the idea expressed by *venire* was wavering between the meaning *to happen* and the meaning *to be*. In other words, whatever idea of motion there is conveyed by *venire*, is faint.

. Per laqual cosa rimescolata la diuisione della legione tra collegi, quasi per gara non credendo che *venisse fatto*, missono a squittino quello di loro collegio, ch' era tenuto il piu menomo de' Cardinali ;

Villani xi, xxi, 697.

“non credendo che *venisse fatto*” may mean : not believing that it would *be done*,

or else : not believing that it would *come to pass*,

. . . . , che li dovea essere data l'entrata della terra ; e per sua sventura nolli *venne fatto* ;

Villani xii, i, 872.

Translation : , for the entrance into the town was to be given to him, but, unfortunately for him, it *was not done* for him ;

or else : , it did not *come to pass* (to him).

. Ma chi qui la volesse toccare, non gli *verrebbe fatto*,

Pass. Sc. 283.

Translation : But if anyone should attempt to touch it (the glory of God) here, (that is, in this life) it would not *be done* to him (that is, he would not be rewarded) ;

or else : it would not *happen to him*.

. Tuttavia, se in questo caso, o in qualunque altro, *venisse nominata* altrui nella confessione la persona con cui avesse peccato, o *venisse detto* l'altrui peccato, non sarebbe peccato, anzi mercede.

Pass. Pen. v, iv, 138.

Translation : . Nevertheless, if the person with whom he had sinned *should be named* (or *should happen to be named*), or the sin of another person *should be told* (or *should happen to be told*),

In the above examples, then, the exact force of *venire*, is uncertain, and seems to be wavering between the idea : *to happen* and the idea : *to be*; that is, the idea of motion expressed is exceedingly weak. There is no doubt in my mind that *venire*, in these examples is an auxiliary verb expressing the Passive voice, but whether it expresses the *pure Latin Passive*, or conveys some idea of *happening* is a doubtful question. These examples may then be taken to represent the intermediate stage between *venire* meaning *to happen*, and *venire* expressing the pure Passive.

The following examples illustrate the use of *venire* with Past Participles in its fullest development up to the last half of the fourteenth century; they are all from Villani (1300–1348) except one from Alberto della Piagentina (1332). They represent the nearest approach to the use of *venire* as an auxiliary expressing the pure Latin Passive, up to that time: the idea of motion seems to have almost disappeared.¹

e. Meaning *to be*; expressing the pure Latin Passive; almost no idea of motion.

Di quello medesimo maraviglioso ordine, per quattro parti del mondo, quattro regni principali eon ordinati gradi soprastanti, fuoro; come ece. . . . De' quali, tra il primaio e quello da sezzo, cioè tra quello di Bambillonia e Romano, quasi tra padre vecchio e figliuolo piccolo, l'Africano e quello di Macedonia piccoli in mezzo, quasi tutori e curatori *vennero ricevuti* per podestà di tempo, non per ragione di reditade.

Giamb. Oros. II, 1, 66.

The Latin is: eademque ineffabiliore ordinatione per quatuor mundi cardines, quatuor regnum principatus fuere distinctis gradibus eminentis: ut, etc. . . . quorum inter primum & novissimum, id est inter Babylonicum et Romanum, quasi inter patrem senem ac filium paruum, Africanum & Macedonicum brevia

¹The Latin Passive, like the German *werden* with the Past Participle, expresses an entrance into a condition, so that *venire* (no matter how well it may seem to be translated by the English *to be*) needs not to lose entirely its idea of motion in order to express the Latin Passive. *Io vengo ucciso* corresponds to *ich werde getötet*, rather than to *I am killed*. Cf. Meyer-Lübke: op. cit. III, § 304.

et media quasi tutor cura torque *venerunt*, potestate, temporis, non iure hereditatis, *admissa*.

Oros. II, 1, 63-4.

The Latin : *venerunt . . . admissa* is extraordinary, and seems to have the meaning : *came to be admitted*. In the Italian : *vennero ricevuti*, however, *vennero* is undoubtedly as much of an auxiliary representing the pure Passive as it would be in the same phrase in modern Italian.

. . . ; e come fu trattato, *venne fatto*.

Villani VIII, LXIII, 337.

Translation : . . . ; and as it was agreed, so it *was done*. It may be said that *venne fatto* here too means : *so it happened*, or turned out, and this translation is possible. Nevertheless the absence of an indirect object such as *loro* makes such a translation less likely than it would be otherwise, and there seems to be no objection to the translation of *venne* by *was*.

. Il qual trattato scoperto con danno di loro non *venne loro fornito*.
Villani IX, CCXII, 469.

Translation : Which agreement, being discovered to their damage, *was not performed* to them. As far as can be seen, there is no idea of *happening* expressed here.

. . . , e già haueua da loro la 'mpromessa, laquale poi li
venne fornita.

Villani VIII, V, 292.

Translation : . . . , and already he had from them the promise which *was afterward fulfilled* to him.

. Onde il Rè si tenne forte granato, ma non potendo bene a ciò contraddirre, . . . , acconsentí, credendosi sì adoperare al concilio di Vienna, che gli *verrebbe fatto suo intendimento*.

Villani VIII, XCII, 367.

Here again some doubt may be raised as to the meaning of *verrebbe fatto*, but the context seems to mean that the king expected

so to act, at the council of Vienna, that his intention *would be performed to him*; that is, *would be granted him* (by the council).

. La qual cosa fu rivelata a Messer Mastino per uno suo antico conestabole, ch' era di quella giura, per laqual cosa il tradimento non *venne fatto*,

Villani xi, viii, 691.

. . . . , per laqual cosa il tradimento non *venne fatto*, for which reason, the betrayal *was not accomplished*

. Nelli anni di Cristo 1328. addì 12. di Maggio, il dì della Assensione, Lodouico il Bauero, che si facea chiamare Imperadore *venne incoronato*, e *parato* con l' abito Imperiale in sul pergamo,

Villani x, LXXXIII, 574.

Translation : "In the year of our Lord, 1328, on the twelfth of May, on Ascension day, Lewis the Bavarian, who used to cause himself to be called "Emperor," *was crowned* and *arrayed* with the imperial dress, upon the platform,"

. Or non sapevi tu i nostri costumi? nè che Creso Rè de' Lidi poco dinanzi a Cirro spaurevole, ineontanente poi miserabile alle fiamme dell' fuoco sommesso, dalla piova dal ciel mandata *venisse difeso*?

Alb. Piag. II, 33.

The Latin is : An tu mores ignorabas meos? Nesciebas Croesum regem Lidorum Cyro paulo ante formidabilem, mox deinde miserandum regi; flammis traditum misso coelitus imbre *defensum*?

Boeth. III, 13b.

In questo apparecchio i sopradetti maestri del trattato, ch'erano in Siena, acciòchè pienamente *venisse lor ornito*, mandarono a Firenze altri a trattare tradimento con certi grandi, e popolani Ghibellini, ch' erano rimasi in Firenze,

Villani VI, LXXX, 172.

Translation : During these preparations the above-mentioned managers of the agreement,, so that it *should be fully performed* to them, etc.

. Con tutto che per molti cittadini si fece questione se potesse *esser venuto fornito* il detto tradimento, non essendo, nella città possenti huomini c'hauessero risposto al tradimento che non si trouò di vero,

Villani x, cxviii, 604.

Translation: Although it was questioned by many of the citizens, whether the said treason could *have been performed*

. . . . , e conoscendo il mal sito dove i Fiorentini erano accampati, con sagace inganno, fece tenere in falsi trattati M. Ramondo, e' l suo consiglio con più di quelle castella di val di Nievole per farli indugiare che non si partissero, e leuassero il campo, ; e tra che fu tempo piouoso, e l'inganno de' trattati, li *venne fatto* suo intendimento.

Villani ix, ccv, 507.

Considering that *intendimento* is here the subject of *venne fatto*, and that the context preceding explains how his intention was to be carried out, we may suppose the translation to be: his intention *was carried out*.

. I Fiorentini per lo soccorso del detto Castello di Luechio trattato feciono d'hauere il Castello, e'l ponte di Cappiano in su la Guisciana. Essendo Castruccio ad oste in Carfagnana, vi caualecarono le cauallate, e soldati di Firenze infino a Empoli, e non *vegnendo fornito* il tradimento si tornarono in Firenze con gran riprensione dell' una impresa, e dell' altra.

Villani ix, cxci, 462.

Translation: since the betrayal *was not carried out*
(. . . . the betrayal not *being carried out*)

. Intra li altri notabili, e orrevoli cittadini, e antichi Guelfi, e fattisi Bianchi vi fu preso M. Donato Alberti giudice, e Nanni de' Russoli della parte del vescouo. Nanni *vegnendo preso* fu morto da uno de' Tosinghi,

Villani viii, lx, 334.

Translation: Nanni on *being captured* was killed. . . .

. e *venia fornito* il trattato, se non che uno che 'l menaua cadde d'uno sporto, e veggendosi alla morte in confessione il manifestò a un frate,

Villani VII, cxxxvii, 251.

Translation : And the agreement *would have been carried out*,¹

Another example in which it seems doubtful whether *venire* is used as an auxiliary or not is : Villani VII, cxxiii, 271.

REMARKS.

1. Parallelism between the use of *venire* with Past Particiles, and that with Adjectives.

I wish here to point out the parallelism between the supposed development of the use of *venire* with Past Particiles, and that of *venire* with adjectives :

Venire was used originally, both with adjectives and with Past Particiles, with its independent meaning of *to come*. However, the verb came to be used, in Latin times, with the meaning *to arrive*, and was also employed in metaphorical senses. Used in metaphorical senses, *venire* appears to continue the loss of the idea of motion, the beginning of which loss is indicated by the passage to the meaning *arrive*. It is here that the supposed development of *venire* as used with Past Particiles, and that of *venire* as used with adjectives, separate. Used with expressions containing an adjectival idea, such as *in grazia*, *in povertà*, etc., it seems to acquire the meaning *to come to be*, which conveys less of an idea of motion than *to arrive*, since the emphasis is on the *being* rather than on the *coming*. And when the verb with the meaning *to come to be* is used in close construction with adjectives, it seems to

¹ I believe the translations given for this and the preceding examples, to be correct as far as the English is concerned. However, it must be borne in mind that the English method of expressing the Passive by *to be* with Past Particiles is, to a certain extent, ambiguous. These translations are to be understood in the sense of the Latin Passive which includes the idea of an *entrance into a condition*, that is, *venire* here is not absolutely deprived of a lingering idea of motion. Cf. note to p. 34.

acquire the meaning *to become*, conveying still less of an idea of motion.

On the other hand *venire* with the meaning *to arrive*, when used with Past Participles seems to acquire the meaning *to happen*, *to come to pass*, with the loss of the idea of motion, which might be expected. Lastly, *venire* meaning *to happen*, continuing to lose the idea of motion, seems to acquire the meaning *to be* (English) which fits it to be used as an auxiliary expressing the pure Latin Passive.

The same cause, the gradual loss of the idea of motion, seems to have operated in the case of each of the two uses (with adjectives and with Past Participles), but the different nature of the two parts of speech produced a different result in each case.

2. The possible influence of the two above uses the one upon the other.

These two developments being so much alike, it is possible that each may have influenced the other, and encouraged the progress of the other to some extent.

As to what influence the use of *venire* as an auxiliary for the Passive, may have had upon the use of *venire* with adjectives, it is impossible to say. Examples of *venire* with adjectives, in which the verb approaches very closely the meaning *to be*, are so few that it is probable that the influence amounted to very little.

On the other hand, it is more likely that the use of *venire* with adjectives, meaning *to become*, had a considerable effect in furthering the change by which *venire* with Past Participles, passed from the meaning *to happen* to the meaning *to be*.

In all languages past participles can be used as adjectives ; one has merely to remember how we say, in English, that the meat *has been cooked* ; and again, that we prefer *cooked meat* to raw meat. That the same occurs in Italian is hardly worth pointing out : “*amor che a nullo amato amar perdona.*” The past participle *fatto* is used as an adjective with exceptional frequency, and occurs thus in the old language as well as in the modern ; for example,

. . . . Or, a guisa di morditore (ed avea nome Paolino), fece a Marco una così *fatta* quistione,

This word is especially interesting to us because it occurs in many of the examples of the auxiliary use of *venire* with Past Participles; and it seems reasonable to suppose that when a verb is commonly used in a given way with such a word, when the latter is considered an adjective, it is likely to be used in the same way with the same word, when the latter is really a past participle.

But beside this, in Italian, numbers of past participles of the first conjugation, and some of other conjugations, have corresponding shorter forms which are adjectives. Such, for example, are *acconcio-acconciato, desto-destato, erto-eretto*, etc., etc.¹ Now although these adjectives are not derived from the corresponding participles, and have always been used as adjectives, as has been pointed out by Quintescu,² nevertheless, as that writer says himself, the respective meanings of adjective and participle are frequently almost identical, and it is easily conceivable that *venire*, once used with such adjectives, with a certain meaning, might be used with the same meaning, with the corresponding Past Participles.

Such considerations as these, lead me to believe it quite possible that when *venire* had come to be used with Past Participles, with the meaning *to happen*, the example of the very similar use of *venire* with adjectives, with the meaning *to become* tending toward the meaning *to be*, may have contributed to the change from *to happen* to *to be*. Also it is possible that the difficulty of distinguishing some of the past participles, with which *venire* was used, from adjectives, may have emphasized the similarity between the two uses, and so have encouraged the same change.

3. *Venire* versus *Essere* as an auxiliary for the Passive.

Supposing *venire* to have passed from the meaning *to happen* to one approaching that of *to be*, it would seem that the mere fact that it expressed an idea similar to that expressed by the regular auxiliary for the Passive, *essere*, would cause it to be used likewise as an auxiliary for the Passive. This may be true, but at the same time there is another cause for the use of *venire* in this way.

¹ Cf. Blanc, *op. cit.*, 329-341.

² "Ueber eine vermutlich aus dem Participle abgeleitete Adjektivalform im Italienischen" A. n. S. xxxvii, 197.

Diez makes a distinction between "Perfective" verbs (verbs expressing momentary activity) and "Imperfective" verbs (those expressing an enduring activity), saying that with Past Participles of the former kind of verbs, when used in the Present tense, *essere* fails to express the Present Passive, and instead corresponds to the Latin Perfect tense composed in the same way, with *esse* and Past Participle. For example, "*il nemico e battuto*" means the same as "*hostis victus est*," thus expressing an event which is past at the time of speaking. On the other hand "*egli è amato da tutti*" corresponds to "*amatur ab omnibus*."¹

Meyer-Lübke objects to this distinction, and holds that, in tenses such as the Present and Imperfect, *essere* fails to express the corresponding Passive tense in Latin as well with "Imperfective" verbs as with "Perfective."²

However that may be, it is true that *venire* fulfills the function of the Latin Passive where *essere* fails. For example, in cases such as the following :

. I Fiorentini per lo soccorso del detto Castello di Luechio trattato feciono d'hauere il Castello, e'l ponte di Cappiano in su la Guiseiana. Essendo Castruccio ad oste in Carfagnana, vi caualearono le cauallate, e soldati di Firenze infino a Empoli, e non *regnando fornito* il tradimento si tornarono in Firenze con gran riprensione dell' una impresa, e dell' altra.

Villani, IX, CXII, 462.

Here if we were to substitute *essendo fornito* for *regnando fornito*, it is clear that the sense would be altered, and we should no longer have the Present Passive.

Venire, then, being so well fitted to supply the failings of the regular auxiliary verb *essere*, it would be exceedingly strange if it had not been pressed into the service. That the shortcomings of *essere* were keenly felt is shewn by the use of periphrases, impersonal expressions such as, "*battut il nemico*,"³ and the reflexive forms, as in *si uccide il malfattore*. Diez mentions these methods

¹ Diez: *op. cit.*, III, 202-4.

² Meyer-Lübke: *op. cit.*, III, § 304.

³ See Diez ib.

of providing for the failings of *essere*, and adds also that *venire* is used in this way instead.¹

4. Frequence of the Appearance of the Uses Discussed.

The examples of the use of *venire* with Past Participles, as an auxiliary for the Passive, which I have found, are as follows :

a. *venire* meaning *to happen*:

Giamb. Oros. v, iv, 279; v, xxiv, 344. Oros. v, iv, 279; v, xxiv, 345. Novell. LXIII, 73-4. Villani i, xxx, 21; vi, lx, 160; vii, lvii, 228; viii, ci, 372; ix, ix, 384; ix, xi, 385; ix, l, 401-2; ix, ccv, 507; x, cix, 598; x, cxxxviii, 616; x, cxlvii, 621; XII, XLIV, 924; XII, LXXII, 955; Pass. Pen. v, iv, 141. Pass. Se. 300.

b. Approaching the meaning *to be*.

Brun. Rett. Comm. 76. Villani VIII, ci, 273; xi, xxi, 697; XII, i, 872. Pass. Pen. v, iv, 138. Pass. Se. 283.

c. Meaning *to be*.

Giamb. Oros. II, I, 66. Oros. II, I, 63-4. Villani, VI, LXXX, 172; VII, CXXIII, 271; VII, CXXVIII, 251; VIII, V, 292; VIII, LX, 334; VIII, LXIII, 337; VIII, XC, 367; IX, CXIII, 462; IX, CCV, 507; IX, CCXII, 469; X, LXXXIII, 574; X, CXVIII, 604; XI, VIII, 691. Alb. Piag. II, 33. Boeth. III, 13b.

¹ While speaking of "perfective" and "Imperfective" verbs, so-called by Diez, I may say that the great grammarian, continuing, points out the fact that the past participles of "Perfective" verbs, when used with the Present tense of *essere*, become adjectives, so that, *il lavoro è finito*, comes to mean: *the work is complete*; *il fanciullo è destato* comes to mean: *the child is awake*, and so on. In this way we have a large class of participles which have become adjectives, and which, together with the parallel forms mentioned above (see Remark 2), would add to the influence which the use of *venire* with adjectives would have on the use with Past Participles.

VITA.

I, James Eustace Shaw, was born at Dewsbury, Yorkshire, England, on July 17th, 1876, and lived at Rome, Italy, from 1878 to 1889. From 1889 to 1892 I was at King Henry VIIIth's School, Coventry, England. In September, 1893, I came to Baltimore and entered the college of Johns Hopkins University. Having obtained the degree of Bachelor of Arts, I entered the department of Romance Languages of the postgraduate division of the university, and spent four years in studying for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. During the seven years thus passed at the Johns Hopkins University, I spent five summers in Europe, all but one in Italy. It has been my good fortune to hold a university scholarship during the year 1899, and a fellowship during the year 1900.

I wish to express my thanks first to Professor Menger of Bryn Mawr College, who introduced me to the undergraduate work here, whose advice has been at my disposal ever since, and who suggested to me the subject of this dissertation. I am also exceedingly indebted to Professors Marden, Armstrong and Ogden, and to Dr. Keidel, of the Johns Hopkins University for instruction and continual kindness. Professor Armstrong especially has been an ever ready source of help to me during the last three years. Above all am I indebted to Professor Elliott of this University, not only for constant help and generous advice during my last four years of work, but also for his kindly interest in me during my undergraduate years.

JAMES EUSTACE SHAW.

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